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## NOTES.

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### I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

**Pittsburg.**—*The Pittsburg Ripper*.<sup>1</sup> As a scene for political battles, Pittsburg presents a condition peculiar to "one-party states." The strength of the Republican party is so great that any struggle for political supremacy here can be along factional lines only. For many years the city has been under what might be termed a beneficent ring. That is, the ring has taken a pride in the city and developed its parks, traction lines, etc. The feelings of the public were not outraged by any open alliance with vice, and speculation was confined to the more tolerable methods of contracts, free franchises, etc. Between this ring and the larger state organization there was for many years an amicable territorial agreement, by which each contracted to keep off the other's preserves. The agreement was fairly adhered to. An invasion of Allegheny County by the state organization was threatened a few years ago when the latter was about to aid a local reform movement. At the last minute before the election, however, a peace was patched up in which the reform was left out of consideration.

The lingering illness of the late C. L. Magee, who had so long been the county leader, brought the necessity and opportunity for a change in leadership. Just at this time there was, in addition to the men who had been in politics for some time, a group of men who had political aspirations, for the realization of which these and other circumstances made the time most opportune. But the aims of these aspirants for political preferment conflicted with those of both state and local machine leaders. This incompatibility caused the Ripper legislation, which was the result of an alliance of the state machine, or stalwarts, with the local debutantes against the local ring.

As originally drafted this now historic document was the result of conscientious study, and was fully in accord with the modern theory of the concentration of responsibility and power. It contained, in the original, a provision for a civil service system. This, however, did not survive, though the *Ripper Clause*, from which the bill takes its name, went through safely. The clause provided that until the next city election, the executive officers of second-class cities should be appointed by the governor and subject to his removal.

Notwithstanding the high character of the Ripper Recorder, the process of decapitating the former ring officials was relentless. The

<sup>1</sup> Contributed by C. D. Scully, Pittsburg, Pa.

taxpayer and business man looked on in indifference or dismay. The press was so extravagantly partisan that the people came to realize that the editorials and news columns were but "surges of insensate passion and unreasonable opinion." Street railway franchises were given away by the new machine despite the Anti-Elevated League and its mass meetings of protest. The show of power brought to terms the leader of the old ring, who used the remnants of his influence for the straight party ticket at the November election. The consideration for his "loyalty" was made known to the public a fortnight after the victory of the state machine, when the governor removed his own Recorder and appointed one named by the local ring. That is to say, the beneficent ring purchased local autonomy in exchange for recognition of the sovereignty of the state machine, to which all homage is rendered at state elections. In a word, the Ripper has been turned on the Rippers.

It is significant that the opposition to the Ripper has been principally on business grounds. There has been little debate of the real fundamental issue of Home Rule vs. State Interference in purely local administrative affairs.

"*L*" Roads.<sup>1</sup> The much-talked-of Pittsburgh "L" roads are apparently dead, but a few postmortem inquiries may nevertheless be of interest in view of the altered condition of politics since the November election. The act under which these roads were chartered was approved June 7, 1901, and provides "for the incorporation and government of passenger railways, either elevated or underground, or partly elevated and partly underground, with surface rights." Under this act five people could associate and obtain a charter by filing papers with the Secretary of the Commonwealth. On June 20, however, an act was passed requiring all applications for such charters to be passed upon by a board, of which the governor and Secretary of the Commonwealth are members. The significance of this is easily comprehended. All the charters were taken out in the names of prominent business men in the city, most of whom are noteworthy also as the leaders in the "Ripper" legislation of last spring.

As the execution of the scheme depended on the favorable action of the City Councils, only a preliminary organization with nominal capital was made in each case. Under the general act many charters through the western end of the state were taken out, but within the city limits there were twelve for elevated and underground roads, aggregating about thirty-one miles, and varying in length from a half mile to six and a half miles. There were besides these many surface

<sup>1</sup> Contributed by C. D. Scully, Pittsburgh, Pa.

charters, to which but slight objections could be made. The "L," charter covered streets already occupied by the Consolidated Traction Company, while the object in the surface roads was apparently to take up important unoccupied streets. The propositions covered by some of these charters seemed absurd. For example, a surface line was projected in one of the residence portions of the city, running three blocks along a street as yet unopened, then two blocks to the point of beginning. This made a loop of ten blocks from an unimportant residence corner back to it again, through an unimportant part of the town, with no apparent reason or excuse whatever for such a road. Of the proposed schemes, the one which appealed most favorably as a business proposition was tunneling through the hill from a point near the Union Station and then going on to the East End. Such a tunnel seems destined to be dug some day, for it would shorten the trip from the heart of the city to the East End residence district by many minutes, besides avoiding many power-consuming grades.

The granting of the charters created more stir in Pittsburg than any event in recent years, not excepting even the "Ripper Bill." "L," roads were the universal subject of conversation, and the projectors soon found themselves with a fight on their hands. There sprang up within a very short period an organization known as the Anti-Elevated League, an association of citizens irrespective of party, most of them being property owners along the projected lines. The citizens' committee of this organization represented an aggregate estimated wealth of \$250,000,000, having some of the city's most influential citizens among its members. A determined fight was at once begun. Meetings were held in every ward in the city afflicted by the proposed roads. These were well attended, and resolutions for presentation to councils protesting against the passage of ordinances in favor of the roads were adopted. In order to obtain funds for campaigning, a contribution was asked of one-half mill on the dollar on property affected. As this property was valued at \$91,000,000 the levy would have given an ample fund if all owners had responded, but the return was very small. Literature was sent out and property holders and councilmen were interviewed. Personal interviews were had with 3,200 property holders, of whom 2,950 were opposed to "L," roads—50 favored them and 200 were for various reasons non-committal.

The league was entirely independent in politics, having no alliance with either the Democratic party or the "Insurgents." The position taken by the press of the city was of course affected by the political situation. The *Press* and *Times*, representing the "Insurgent" wing of the Republican party, attacked the charters and their owners very bitterly. The *Gazette* and *Telegraph* belonging to one of the pro-

motors supported the charters and endeavored to show editorially and by cartoons, etc., the inadequacy of the present traction system. Of the independent papers the *Post*, as a Democratic paper, was naturally against the franchises. The *Leader* took the stand that no favorable ordinance should be passed without an indemnity clause. The *Dispatch* seemed at heart to be in sympathy with the "L" roads, but did not come out for them. Letters from "Taxpayers" and "Interested Citizen" *et al.* were very frequent and very bitter in their tone.

One of the surprises in the movement was the apparent lack of concern on the part of local traction officials. Interviews with their officers revealed a very cool attitude for persons whose interests were apparently threatened as were theirs. The Consolidated Traction Company did not contribute to the league, nor were any traction officials identified with it. This would lend some color to the statement that the whole affair was gotten up to bear traction stocks. It had that effect, traction stocks going up many points immediately after the launching of the scheme.

The conditions which the "L" promoters had to face were not those which met earlier traction promoters. The earlier lines were gladly given the most valuable concessions, because before their time there were practically no traction facilities. The "L" promoters brought before the city council a proposition to take up many streets unoccupied, and to disfigure others with unsightly trestles, etc., and offered in return 5 per cent of their net receipts. The room for contraction in net receipts is very great, and it was this feature of the offer that gave the most material for caustic editorials on the part of the opposition press.

The remarkable thing about the Anti-L League is the fact that, after all, it had apparently no effect upon the November election. In the opinion of the chairman of the executive committee, it helped the straight ticket. The vote would seem to show this. The efforts of the league were not, however, useless, for the determination with which it went to work showed what would be done if the project were revived.

At present, things are at a standstill with regard to the movement. All the preliminary surveying has been done for the roads, but the engineers have been instructed to stop work. The ordinances granting the franchises are in the hands of a committee, an attempt to withdraw them having been overwhelmingly defeated. The league will maintain its organization until after the February election, when an attempt will be made to extract a pledge against "L" ordinances from every councilman. The new Recorder is tightly pledged to veto such an ordinance should it pass. There seems every assurance

that "L" roads are dead. With the great growth of the city there must be a further development of its traction facilities, but it is evident that the development must be on other lines than those described above.

**Providence.**<sup>1</sup>—*Tramway Transfer Tickets.* The issue in the mayoralty election of last November was station plan or transfer tickets. The mayor advocated transfer tickets and was re-elected by a vote of 10,961 to 4,655, a majority unprecedented in the city. During the campaign there was a noticeable unanimity of support on the part of the press to the candidate favoring the tramway company's proposition, the station plan. Only one small daily advocated the transfer ticket. The triumphant re-election of Mayor Granger in the face of the united opposition of the press suggests that while in ordinary times the press is a tremendous power, yet at critical times like this it carries no weight if on the wrong side of an important question.

*Home Rule. State Appointed Police and License Commission.* Immediately after the election the Common Council passed a resolution asking the legislature to take from the city the control of its police and license systems and to place these in the hands of a commission appointed by the governor. This extraordinary action was taken without warning to the people of the city and without any public discussion or popular demand. It is stated that the committee which considered it was called together on Sunday without the usual notice to the mayor and that enough votes to insure its passage were secured between then and Monday evening, when the Council met. It is commonly ascribed to the desire of the machine to gain control of the political patronage of these two departments and to rebuke the re-elected mayor. The act was drawn up on the same night that the resolution was passed, and introduced in the legislature the next morning. It was referred to a committee which gave a hearing the following day. The committee room was crowded with citizens eager to declare that they did not want the act, and in the evening a tremendous meeting of protest filled the largest hall in the city. The mayor, the Episcopal bishop-coadjutor of this diocese, and prominent men of both political parties made the hall ring with indignant protests, which called forth storms of applause. The lieutenant-governor of the state sent a letter declaring his opposition to the bill and to its principle; but all to no avail. The act was passed the next day by an overwhelming majority. (There has been practically no opposition party in the legislature for some years.) The governor was confined to his bed by illness from which he has since died, but the machine promptly sent down to his country home the names of the men wanted

<sup>1</sup> Contributed by Sidney A. Sherman, Ph. D.

on the commission and their appointment came back with his signature.

The governor of this state has no veto power, and his appointing power is but a shadow. By a remarkable amendment to the constitution adopted a year or two since, the senate can itself make appointments if it fails to confirm the governor's appointees within three days. As this same senate consists of one senator from each town and city and as the majority come from the rotten boroughs, public opinion has little weight when opposed to machine dictation. The commission thus hastened into existence has gone to work with a flourish of trumpets. It remains to be seen whether it can win the confidence of the taxpayers and voters of the city.

**Trenton.**—*Non-Partisan Police Department.*<sup>1</sup>—The city of Trenton has a non-partisan police administration. A referendum, authorized by the legislature, resulted in the establishment of a non-partisan board of police commissioners, four in number, who direct the affairs of the department, make rules and regulations for its guidance and examine applicants. The candidate must have been five years a citizen of the United States, and a resident of Trenton for the same space of time. He must show a certificate signed by two reputable citizens of Trenton certifying to his good moral character. Conviction for crime disqualifies the applicant. He must be able to read and write the English language. He is assured that, if accepted, promotion will depend entirely upon his activity, intelligence and good conduct. The department requires \$80,000 per annum for its maintenance. There are two precincts, ninety-six officers and employees. The patrolmen are divided into three divisions, with practically twenty-five men in each division. The pay of the first is \$70.00, the second \$67.50 and the third \$65.00 per month. Classification is made by seniority of service, men being advanced solely upon merit. The Board of Commissioners has power to punish by suspension, withdrawal of pay for definite periods or reduction in grade.

The present Chief of Police has held the position since 1899, having first entered the service as patrolman in 1885. He has shown marked capacity to organize the details of the department. By a system of scrap-books, thoroughly indexed and intelligently arranged, he follows every phase of police life. In one volume is a complete record of every member of the department, showing his status, merits and demerits. Here on record are excuses offered by men on duty, with endorsements of a superior officer. Officers must report every two hours by telegraph from patrol boxes to the central station, where a record is kept upon a tape. Failure to report within ten minutes of

<sup>1</sup> Contributed by Francis B. Lee, of Trenton.

the scheduled time requires an excuse, which is thoroughly investigated by the Board of Police Commissioners. All of these details are kept indexed for immediate reference ; likewise, the volumes containing data with reference to property lost, stolen and recovered, reports of the city detectives, and complaints and reports relating to disorderly houses. The chief keeps upon classified slips a handy daily reference to all these subjects, a practical card index for immediate use. No complaint, however trivial, escapes investigation and record. The people of Trenton, without regard to party, have observed with satisfaction the improvement of methods due to the change to non-partisanship in the administration of the Police Department.

**Civic Instruction in Secondary Schools.**—Attention has twice been called in this department to the work of the committee appointed by the National Municipal League to inquire as to the extent and betterment of instruction in municipal government given in institutions of learning in the United States. The committee has heretofore confined its inquiries to the curricula of colleges and universities. At its January meeting, Mr. William M. Maxwell, Superintendent of the Brooklyn Schools, and Dr. Cheesman A. Herrick, of the Course in Commerce, in the Central High School of Philadelphia, were requested to join the Committee and to devise methods of reaching the secondary schools.

A similar movement has been begun by the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs for the special purpose of extending instruction in civics in the secondary schools. The Civil Service Reform Committee of the Federation has issued a circular urging the study of civics or theories of good citizenship in the grammar, high and normal schools of Massachusetts and the United States. The circular reads in part as follows :

" We believe that neglect of this teaching of civic virtue has produced many of the corrupting conditions in public life from which our people, in so many places, are struggling to rid themselves. We have not taught our young people that they owe service and devotion to the state, which they cannot withhold without selfishness and dishonor, especially if they owe to their state their education and training. We do not think any citizen can fail to be moved by the great stirring to fuller life of our Republic. The questions all seem so much larger and more vital, demanding in their treatment knowledge and faithfulness of purpose. In themselves these questions are an educating influence, and it seems natural and fitting that we should take a preliminary step, and give some special form of training to the boys and girls into whose hands, in a few years, these



great moral responsibilities are to be given. As regards many things that are taught in our schools, one may hesitate and doubt; but surely in this thing we all agree, that we must give some form of instruction that will raise the standard of citizenship.

"Some of the older ones among us are impressed with the small amount of teaching which is a part of family life, and with the fact that the child's intellectual and moral growth is more and more directed by its teachers. And this not only among the poorer people, where the struggle for daily bread is a large part of life, but among the well-to-do classes, where there is leisure for family life. As the greater number of teachers in our public schools are women, it seems fitting that a special appeal should be made to the Federations and Clubs, that they insist that our schools shall embody in their course of study, instruction which shall send the boy and girl out into life devoted to national and civic ideals of uprightness and honesty."

**Ontario.**—*Municipal Government.*<sup>1</sup> Municipal government in Ontario is the development of a century. From the settlement of the province, then known as Upper Canada, by the United Empire Loyalists, after the Revolutionary war until 1841, local affairs, in the rural districts at any rate, were almost wholly in the hands of the courts of quarter sessions composed of magistrates, sometimes as many as thirty, appointed for life by the crown. The province was first divided into four districts with a court to each, but these were subsequently subdivided into twenty. The germ of the present democratic system of local government is to be found in a statute of 1793 enabling any two magistrates to authorize the constable of any "parish, township, reputed township or place" to assemble on the first Monday in January the householders to select a clerk, two assessors, a collector of taxes, and a number of overseers of highways, fence viewers, a pound keeper and two town wardens. One warden was to be appointed by the Anglican minister if there was one. As towns and market-places grew up the powers of the general court of quarter sessions regarding purely local affairs gradually passed into the hands of boards of police, but in the rural districts the courts held sway until 1841 when the inhabitants of each district were constituted a municipal corporation. For many years prior to this there had been much murmuring against the often unjust administration of the Sessions, but municipal local government once established it went on growing until now the Municipal Act fills a large volume, and constitutes of itself an important branch of law. The original four districts are now represented by about 700 municipalities.

The complaint of the rural sections came to be too much represen-

<sup>1</sup> Contributed by Mr. Walter Armstrong, Toronto.

tation; the county councils, composed of the reeves and deputy reeves of townships, became too large and unwieldy, and a few years ago relief was sought in an act reducing the number of county councillors by more than half and providing for their election every two years by districts. This reform has proved very beneficial.

The government of Toronto illustrates the farthest advance made in urban municipal administration. The city is divided into six wards, each of which elects annually four aldermen who, with the mayor elected annually by the city at large, compose the council. At their first meeting they elect four controllers, who with the mayor form the board of control, which exercises the executive functions of the government. There are five standing committees of council—works, property, parks, fire and light. They meet fortnightly, and their reports are supervised by the board of control prior to their submission to council. There is now a proposal before council for the election of the controllers by the city at large and the reduction of the number of aldermen to three from each ward.

School affairs are managed by a board of twenty-four trustees, elected by wards for two years, half of them retiring each year. They send their estimates to the city council, and the half-million dollars expended by them is raised along with the city's tax levy. So it is with the police commissioners, the high school board and the public library board. The board of police commissioners, which has entire control of the police force, is made up of the police magistrate, the mayor and the county judge. The high school board is appointed by council and the public school board and the public library board and the technical school board by the council, and other representative bodies, such as the board of trade and trades and labor council. Toronto has a population of 220,000, and its financial operations amount to over six million dollars annually. The city controls its own water supply and is fighting now for the control of the gas supply. Permanent works, such as pavements, sewers and sidewalks, are done on the local improvement system. The local improvement debt is now \$3,600,000, and the net general indebtedness \$12,883,000.